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ABSTRACT

Utilizing data from a 1972 sociological survey of rural inhabitants working in the public economy of the province of Novosibirsk, this study examined leisure as an element of the residents' life style. Rural residents with common leisure behaviors were identified through the classification of the behavior's function and quality. Leisure functions were classified as: recreation--walks in the woods, fishing, hunting, hiking; spiritual consumption--reading, concerts, seeing films; and creative activity--gardening, sewing, knitting, participation in amateur theatrical societies. Each behavior was arranged by leisure diversity (number of functions performed). "Quality" of leisure (degree to which urban patterns had been assimilated) was classified as: weakly urbanized--traditional and time-honoured rural leisure behaviors; middle-urbanized--oriented equally to time-honoured and relatively new leisure behaviors; and urbanized--relatively new forms of leisure. Sociodemographic data of the population were also obtained--sex, age, education, skills, office, income, and the community's socioeconomic development (degree of urbanization and industrialization). Findings included: men were typical representatives of urbanized leisure and women of weakly urbanized leisure; over half of the holders of weakly urbanized leisure were in pre-retired and retired age; holders of mid-urbanized leisure were from 30 to 50 years of age; and holders of urbanized leisure were slightly younger and more educated. (NQ)

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TYPOLOGY OF LEISURE OF RURAL PEOPLE

Seminar 17: Recreation, Leisure, and Strategies of Integrated Development.

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TYPOLOGY OF LEISURE OF RURAL PEOPLE
(TIPOLOGIA DOSUGA ZHITELEI SELA)

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Abstract

The paper examines leisure as an element of rural population life style. The author makes an attempt at reducing the multiplicity of leisure behaviours to several different and substantively interpretable types. Sociodemographic "portraits" of holders of different types of leisure are described, detected is information power in relation to them of a group of factors-characteristics of rural population and rural social environment.

1. Introductory Notes

Further development and qualitative improvement of the socialist life style, the spread of its patterns among all social classes and groups of our society is one of key tasks of social development posed by the XXV Congress of the CPSU. Rural-urban transition is one of the directions to this end. According to this, a pressing theoretical and practical task is studying the current state of culture in the rural side, detecting unsolved yet problems in raising cultural level of rural people, search for means to do away with drawbacks in cultural services of the rural side.

In this paper an attempt is made to examine some aspects of these problems relating to leisure of rural population.

In sociological studies two approaches to leisure can be found. The first can be designated as analytical. Its distinction is that each element of leisure is examined separately: its diffusion, time expenditures. The second is syn-

thetic. It develops an integral picture of leisure as a resultant of the interaction of all its elements. The studies within this approach result in different typologies of leisure time.

The type of study is chosen according to its objectives. In studies of life style leisure is one of its components and, hence, is represented rather as discernible, substantively interpretable behaviours than activities listed according to their diffusion or time expenditure on them.

This paper examines some results of leisure study as an element of rural population life style[1]. The focal point is substantive interpretation of extracted types and description of their sociodemographic portraits. Methodological aspects of typology construction are described only briefly, as a necessary explanation of how the described types have been obtained.

Prior to setting forth how this task was solved, it is necessary to enlarge, if only briefly, on the concepts we use. The main working concept is "leisure" by which meant is a sphere of human life activity within which he is free from the most "rigid" role duties: occupational (gainful employment, some kinds of compulsory education), domestic (cooking, cleaning etc.), family (care for children etc.) and some others. The social indicator of leisure is a body of voluntary behaviours which are for the individual the end in themselves.

Sometimes we use here a concept of "free time" which is related to but not the same as leisure. Since in literature different usages of these concepts can be found, it is necessary to give our own understanding of them. This makes sense also because the boundaries delineated between them would make it possible to answer why we have included particular activities into leisure. Above all, we should note that the

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1 The paper is based on data from a sampling sociological survey of population who worked in public economy in rural areas of the Novosibirsk province in 1972.

concepts under consideration have different "backgrounds": leisure is substantive and free time analytical (methodological) concept. In Russian, to refer to an activity performed without external pressure, leisure was used (V.Dal, 1955). Free time is a theoretical concept. It has come to exist since the 1920s as a means of time budget analysis. Empirical counterpart of free time included about the same circle of activities as leisure. Just for this reason they were used either as complete synonyms (Gordon, 1972; Great Encyclopedia, 1972; Zborovski and Orlov, 1970), or as a whole and a part (Gordon and Klopov, 1972; Zhuravliov, 1969). But through confronting the criteria by which these concepts were delineated in their definitions one can see that the relationship between leisure and free time as more or less overlapping resulted from a difference between them. "Free time serves, according to most definitions (Pimenova, 1974; Artiomov et al., 1967), an instrument in the analysis of activity through time expenditures from the standpoint of public norms and ideals. According to this, in the socialist society by free time meant are time expenditures on activities objectively useful for goals posed by society, i.e. all-round and harmonious development of personality. Leisure, in contrast to free time, is realization of individual needs and values of one of the spheres of human life activity. Hence, through these two concepts, activity is examined and evaluated from different angles: public and individual. Public and individual preferences may not coincide. From here it follows a possibility of more or less wide gap between leisure and free time. E.g. the higher the coincidence between people's behaviour and socially approved patterns, the less discernible are leisure and free time, and vice versa. On this basis we can relate particular activities to leisure or free time. While free time, for example, should not include such behaviours as idling, drinking, religious behaviour and the like, leisure by definition is not inconsistent with them. Moreover, one can know from practice that certain part of population is selective just to these behaviours. This is

also true of certain kinds of domestic activities (sewing, knitting, gardening, woodcraft, care for personal car, cooking etc.). It should be noted that some researchers are apt to drop them both from leisure and free time on the basis of involuntary nature of domestic work in general. The studies of life style of rural people have shown, however, that housework, gardening are for many rural dwellers more than mere extension of public production of goods and services, but also a kind of recreation, a means of self-expression. This was evidenced also by some home and foreign studies. Researchers from France, Federal Republic of Germany and others have studied the evaluations of double nature activities by various sociodemographic groups of population. It turned out that non-utilitarian implications of these activities dominated over purely practical. The respondents feel them rather part of leisure than work of obligatory nature (Dumazedier, 1967; European Seminar on the Leisure..., 1968). It has been observed that these behaviours take half leisure time and their number in leisure structure tends to increase (Dumazedier, 1967).

2. Methodological Aspects of Leisure Typology Construction

In our data leisure was represented in the replies of rural respondents to the question what they were employed with in time free of work and obligatory domestic duties, i.e. by a multiplicity of various sets of behaviours. The objective was to identify types of rural residents by common leisure behaviours through the classification of available sets of them. Since leisure was viewed rather as an element of life style than in itself, the objective was to discern only those behaviours which characterized it as such. This implied that criteria for types identification had to be preset, i.e. an initial scale based on certain aspects of leisure content most significant for life style description was to be built. According to this, the first step in iden-

tifying groups of people with common behaviours was search for type-forming attributes of leisure characterizing life style. The attributes selected by this criterion must, first, represent leisure activities and, second, detect traits which most strongly differentiate rural population itself and reveal its distinction from urban population. Leisure functions meet these criteria very well. With their help as will be shown below, it is possible to represent certain quantitative and qualitative aspects in the differentiation of this component of life style.

Multiple human leisure activities can be reduced to three functions, namely: 1) human reproduction as an actor, providing and maintaining a certain balance of physical and mental (emotional) resources - "recreation"; 2) self-realization and self-perfection taking place mainly in the process of spiritual consumption (assimilation of knowledge, values and norms transmitted by society and immediate social environment) - "spiritual consumption"; 3) self-devotion and self-expression, i.e. realization of the individual as a creator, actor (various forms of transmission of accumulated social and cultural experience to other people) - "creative activity". Using the foregoing leisure functions as classification criteria it is possible to construct a scale to distinguish behaviours with different functional content of activity. Different behaviours obtained with the help of this scale can be presented also as arranged by leisure diversity (i.e. by number of functions performed). The climax in this hierarchy will be a type concentrating all above listed leisure functions. This type can be referred to as a multiform, diverse, "rich" leisure. Opposite to this type are those forming a group of "poor" leisure, i.e. representing only one of its three functions. An intermediate place is occupied by types with middle-level diversity.

Qualitatively, however, behaviours of poor, middle and rich leisure may essentially vary. The types examined may include, for example, groups of people oriented only to relatively new or to rural traditional leisure activities.

In other words, functional approach is insufficient to obtain homogeneous types and it is necessary to find a way to discern within them groups meeting this requirement.

In terms of our study objectives, of the highest interest is that aspect of leisure differentiation which reflects the degree to which rural population has assimilated urban patterns. This criterion was used as the second independent variable in leisure classification. It was called conventionally "quality" of leisure. With its help a scale identifying three types of behaviours was built:

1. Weakly urbanized (oriented only to traditional and time-honoured rural leisure behaviours).

2. Middle-urbanized (oriented equally to time-honoured and to relatively new leisure behaviours).

3. Urbanized (oriented to relatively new forms of leisure).

Bringing all bases of leisure typology together (imposing them on each other) gives a resultant scale classifying leisure with an account taken of its qualitative level, kind of functions performed and their ranges. This scale can be presented as the following table:

Leisure groups according to functions / Leisure groups according to quality	"poor"	"middle"	"rich"
weakly urbanized	1	2	3
middle-urbanized	4	5	6
urbanized	7	8	9

Measurement by scale was done in two stages. The first of them was operationalization of concepts "function" and "quality" of leisure. It consisted in assigning to each behaviour a single (dominating) function* and putting this

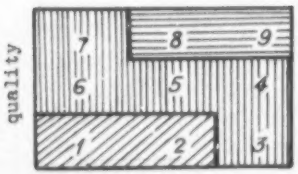
* The procedure of dividing behaviours into classes by functions is to a certain degree conventional since most leisure activities are multifunctional. The predominance of a particular single function is enough obvious (or perceived intuitively).

behaviour into correspondence with one of the qualitative levels. In the questionnaire list of leisure behaviours different forms of spiritual consumption (self-development function) were discerned: reading, visiting lecture halls, concerts, seeing films etc.). The rest of behaviours were divided into those relating primarily either to the first function - recreation (naps, walks in the wood, fishing, hunting, hiking etc.) , or the second - self-devotion (family, domestic and creative activities - participation in amateur theatrical societies, photo-cinema-radio amateur activity, gardening, floriculture, sewing, knitting etc.). Within each of the three groups activities characterizing a particular level of leisure quality were identified. Thus, among behaviours of self-development function relatively new leisure patterns were self-education, fiction reading, theatre-going, visiting lectures and concerts, playing music; time-honoured ones - cinema-going, radio listening, newspaper-reading. As a result of these procedures the theoretical scale was presented in terms of replies to questionnaire items. The second stage was direct measurement, i.e. finding out by the set of behaviours to which class of the scale the individual belongs.

3. Substantive Attributes of Emergent Types

The identified leisure types were verified on variables more or less associated with the essence of the phenomenon studied, but not used directly in typology construction. These variables were rural people's opinions about spending free time and leaves of absence, reasons for visiting cultural institutions, structure of subscriptions to periodicals, readership behaviour, the opinions about rural and urban life styles etc.

The verification results have shown that not all theoretical types are discernible in reality. Substantively interpretable and discernible were certain combinations of theoretical types. The boundary between them runs roughly as is shown in Fig. 1.



There are several reasons for which it was impossible to verify as a leisure type each of the classes identified by the constructed scale of classes. First, it might be because of insufficient "resolving power" of questionnaire data. Second, diversity of leisure types can be observed in population whose members are highly differentiated by their social characteristics. Rural population, however, is rather little differentiated by occupation, educational level and some other variables. And, lastly, one of leisure classification criteria could more strongly differentiate rural population than another. As is shown in Fig. 1, this took place also. The quality of leisure, i.e. the degree to which urban patterns have been assimilated, has a higher discriminating power than its functional diversity.

To summarize, leisure as an element of life style of rural population actually was represented by three types. We designated them as under-developed, mid-developed and developed leisure. Their substantive characteristics are as follows.

I type is under-developed leisure (the sameness, paucity of free time behaviours, relatively low needs). This type was found among 34% of rural residents. The first priority among leisure activity was given by this type to voluntary domestic pursuits (gardening, sewing, knitting) as well as family and friendly social intercourse. Half respondents had leisure consisting of these two components: domestic pursuits and family communication alternating with either relaxation (sleep and idling), or fairly narrow circle of recreational activities. The rest of them, though not dis-

playing any interest for domestic pursuits as forms of leisure had an extremely narrow range of pursuits which, moreover, occupied a very humble place in the structure of their leisure. This was evidenced, e.g., by partial character of their participation in spiritual consumption. It consisted chiefly in TV watching (a third of this group), sometimes cinema-going and radio listening. A considerable part of this group of rural residents (over 40%) never visited cinema and were indifferent to other clubhouse events (concerts, lectures etc.). No one in this group read books. Newspapers were read only by a fourth of this group. In other words, this part of population only partially assimilated those urban leisure patterns which became already customary with rural residents (radio, newspaper, cinema). Its actual leisure behaviour and plans for free time allocation in the future were, to a considerable degree, regulated by traditionally peasant conceptions about expediency of time expenditures condemning idle, useless (from practical viewpoint) pursuits.

II type - mid-developed leisure (a broader against the first type range of activities, noneven development of demands in the sphere of leisure - intensive development of one group of needs against weak development of others). It covered 42.5% of rural inhabitants. The above considered hierarchy of needs in the sphere of leisure was reconstructed in this type. Various types of hobby domestic pursuits lose their dominating role in time spending though continue to occupy a considerable place. They were pressed by other behaviours such as fishing, hunting or simply enjoying the landscape, entertainments (television-, film-watching), pursuits facilitating acquisition of knowledge. In leisure structure there appeared such activities as self-education, learning in part-time, night and extension learning institutions, reading books. It is true, however, that percentage self-educated is not high. But about half of this type read fiction books, newspapers, magazines, were subscribers to a wide circle of newspapers (central and local) and magazines

(literary, non-special). About three-fourths of this population visited regularly (not less than 2-3 times monthly) various clubhouse events: films, concerts, lectures.

In sum, in comparison with the first type, more of a role is played here by pursuits conducive to personality developing, to expanding one's outlook, but diversity and number of pusuits performing recreational and creative functions of leisure have changed rather little. The process of leisure urbanization, i.e. assimilation of mostly accessible modern patterns of time spending at the expense of refusal from traditional rural patterns of semi-utilitarian pursuits and idling, has diffused in this part of population rather widely covering half to three-fourths of it.

III type - developed leisure (high level of demands in the sphere of leisure, their full value in terms of quality and diversity). It was characteristic of 22.6% of our rural respondents. Among persons with developed leisure the hierarchy of preferences was essentially different from that characteristic of the first and second types. Voluntary domestic and household activities played considerably less of a role than pursuits performing functions of recreation and personality developing. The leisure of this part of population was by large similar to that or urbanites. It was marked by versatility of pursuits and their rational combination, participation in most complicated forms of social activity (public activity, creative activity). The differences were mostly that rural residents spent on these pursuits less time since running private economy was for most of them a necessity and time expenditures on it made up nearly better part of the stock of after-hours. This was the main difference between rural and urban leisure. Nonetheless, the holders of developed leisure did not lag behind urbanites in reading books (75%), newspapers (94%), cinema-going (82%). In this setting very popular was also reading magazines. The subscribers made 80% among the tested households. By provision of newspapers and magazines the group under examination was far above other rural and partly urban residents (in particular, by provision

of technological, specialized and some other magazines).

About three-fourths of this group were active not only in spiritual consumption, but also in creative activity: they took part in amateur theatricals, were engaged in other kinds of non-specialized voluntary activities (photography, drawing etc.), in public activity. Much more, comparing to other groups, attention was paid by them to outdoor recreational activities: sports, hiking, fishing, hunting. These types of recreation were found among 63% of them. The needs in pithy and interesting free time activities among this part of population were far from being met. Thus, some of them (9%) felt there was surplus instead of deficit of free time in rural places; they were most critical than other types in rating conditions for recreation in rural places.

4. Factors Differentiating Leisure Types of Rural People

To complete a picture of rural people's leisure, it is necessary to depict sociodemographic portraits of its holders. We shall do it simultaneously with finding out how leisure activities are related to several groups of factors: 1) demographic (sex, age); 2) socioeconomic (education, skills, office, incomes etc.); 3) physical-spatial (socioeconomic development of communities - degree of urbanization and industrialization). At the same time the significance of each characteristic-factor for individual's leisure behaviour will be examined.

The analysis has shown that each type of leisure has a population of its own different from others by sex, age and education. Here is, for example, a sex-specific distribution of persons with different types of leisure (Table 1).

This distribution shows that men were typical representatives of developed leisure and women of under-developed leisure. Mid-developed leisure was found equally among men and women. The obtained results were consistent with time budget studies data also evidencing considerable differences

in amount and structure of free time among rural dwellers of different sexes.

Table 1

Sex-specific distribution of persons with different types of leisure (%)

Sex	Types of leisure		
	under-developed	mid-developed	developed
Men	39	49	67
Women	61	51	33
Total	100	100	100

Just as significant were age differentials among rural residents holding different types of free time activities. It was especially exemplified by percentage of youth and persons in pre-retired and retired age (Table 2).

Table 2

Age-specific distribution of persons with different types of leisure (%)

Age groups, years	Types of leisure		
	under-developed	mid-developed	developed
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
among them			
under 30	7.2	24.0	36.0
30-39	30.4	32.6	28.0
40-49	42.5	31.4	29.4
50 and over	19.9	12.0	6.6
average age, years	42.1	37.8	35.3

Over a half holders of under-developed leisure were in pre-retired and retired age. Among the holders of the second type of leisure the greatest group was of people in the prime of life (30-50 years of age). The same applied to developed leisure, but its holders on the whole were slightly younger and, hence, more educated since there was a close

correlation between these characteristics (the bulk of persons with low educational level were age groups over 40 years of age and, conversely, persons of young and middle ages had higher educational level).

We do not have necessary data for testing how occupational activity influences leisure type: small number of many occupational groups did not permit us to obtain statistically reliable results. We have managed only to trace the impact of individuals' skills and place in organizational hierarchy on their leisure type. The obtained data have shown strong differences between skilled and unskilled workers, as well as between manual and nonmanual workers (Table 3).

Table 3

Holders of different leisure types by their skills and place in organizational hierarchy (%)

Groups of workers by skills and place in organizational hierarchy	Leisure types		
	under-developed	mid-developed	developed
Top managers	-	1	4
Middle managers	1	5	8
Specialists	1	10	21
Clerical workers	1	7	11
Skilled farm workers	64	61	50
Unskilled farm labour	33	17	6
T O T A L	100	100	100
among them:			
Nonmanual workers	3	23	44
Manual workers	97	78	56

As is seen from Table 3, from under-developed to developed leisure the percentage of manual workers is steadily rising, whereas that of manual workers is declining. Among the listed categories by skills and place in organizational hierarchy the most leisure homogeneous were managers (over 70% of top managers fell into the group of developed and

68% of middle managers into the group of mid-developed leisure), and unskilled workers (including ordinary collective farmers) of which 57% fell into the group of under-developed leisure.

The extent of education is also an attribute informative of leisure types. The duration of vocational (occupational) training was partly reflected in hierarchy of skills and places in organization. Training levels may facilitate or, else, impede the access to high-paid and skilled jobs thus producing non-equal economic opportunities for assimilation of particular kinds of culture. Another aspect of education is the stock of knowledge and the volume of assimilated cultural values not associated with everyday occupational and living activity. This kind of differences is best of all reflected in the level of general education, since it is most influential in shaping the cultural image of an individual on the whole, it determines the broadness of his world outlook, circle of interests etc. Here is the educational level of holders of different types of leisure (Table 4).

Table 4

Holders of different leisure types
by extent and kind of education (%)

Level and kinds of education	Types of leisure		
	under-developed	mid-developed	developed
Kinds:			
Higher	-	2	6
High specialized	1	8	18
Comprehensive:			
8-10 grades	2	26	29
5-7 grades	30	35	32
1-4 grades	55	28	15
less than 4 grades	12	1	-
T O T A L	100	100	100

According to these data, under-developed leisure is based

on elementary education, mid-developed on 8-grade school, and developed on a higher educational level. The relation of leisure to education level is seen also in similar free time behaviours among persons with the same education. For example, 66% of 8-10-grade graduates had mid-developed leisure, 30% developed and as little as 4% had under-developed leisure.

Free time activities largely related to family economic status, number of children and adults in it, presence/absence of private household and its size. Apart from this, very important is dwelling and number of amenities. The above characteristics of economic status of the family determine not only the amount of free time, but the nature of familial leisure. As was shown by time budget studies, low provision of conveniences in dwellings, great number of children, low incomes increase time expenditures on domestic work and private economy, thus producing a situation where these activities become dominant.

Our finding also reveal the dependence of free time behaviours on family economic status, and one of its indicators is per capita income. Here is the distribution of holders of different leisure types by per capita family income.

Table 5

Holders of difierent leisure types by income groups (aggregate per capita income)[1] (%)

Groups of families by aggregate per capita income	Leisure types		
	under-developed	mid-developed	developed
1	25	14	5
2	58	69	74
3	17	17	21
T O T A L	100	100	100

1 The groups were based on interviews with population about incomes obtained from public and private economy and are expressed in money terms.

The data of Table 5 indicate that developed leisure was more associated on the whole with a higher well-being than mid- and under-developed. The overwhelming majority of members of low-income families had under-developed and sometimes mid-developed leisure. Relatively high average per capita income level, however, was of little informative power in reference to leisure type. The differentiating role of incomes is seen only between low- and mid-income families. What was the reason? We can suppose that free time activities are related not so much to sizes of per capita family incomes as such, as to demographic factors predetermining them. Under-developed and partly mid-developed leisure types are related to less favourable demographic family structure. For example, in I type (under-developed leisure) rather representative (15%) is percentage of families with a sole breadwinner (usually unsupported mothers, widows and divorced women), as well as percentage of married couples in retired age (16%).

As almost all rural dwellings have the same level of amenities, differences of this kind are not very much perceptible among persons with similar behaviours. We can only note here that persons with developed leisure had slightly better dwelling conditions. Among them, there was a higher percentage of those having gas, hot water and plumbing facilities in homes. It is known, however, that houses with modern amenities, i.e. governmental and state and collective farms tenancies, have been commissioned only recently. These dwellings are mostly occupied by rural professionals and agriculturalists coming to the countryside on requests of collective and state farms through job placements after completing senior and junior colleges. According to this, we should attribute the quality of dwelling rather to mere coincidence with leisure quality than to actual relationship between them.

Of a high interest is a relationship between leisure development and socioeconomic level of communities of residence. The highest diffusion of developed leisure can be

anticipated in urbanized settings, and of under-developed in communities with low urbanization. The classification of communities by which this hypothesis was tested has been exposed in detail by Zaslavskaia and Muchnik, 1974. We made use of one of its versions which was partition of communities into three groups with different degrees of public services. Table 6 shows free time activities by community types.

Table 6

Holders of different leisure types
by communities with different developmental levels
of the sphere of services (%)

Community types by level of services	Leisure types		
	under-developed	mid-developed	developed
1. Villages with low services	41	34	26
2. Villages with middle services	32	27	23
3. Villages with high services	17	32	51
TOTAL:	100	100	100

Living conditions differentials are accompanied by essential differences in the utilization of free time. The sameness and low level of demands are distinctive features primarily of the leisure of residents in small hinterland communities remote from public centres and having low level sphere of consumer and cultural services. The diversity and high level of interests are more often found among residents of urbanized agrarian and industrial-agrarian communities, i.e. of large settlements playing a role of social centres, situated comparatively close to centres of a higher level, having highly developed sphere of consumer and cultural services.

How can the association of free time utilization with most significant characteristics of rural population and rural social environment be measured? The ranking of the

considered factors and of some others in terms of their significance for leisure by descendency of this attribute has shown the following arrangement[1]:

Factors influencing leisure character	Coefficients of association of attributes with leisure types
1. Community type by urbanization degree	0.238
2. Individuals' education	0.298
3. Per capita family income	0.299
4. Individual's age	0.304
5. Type of community by administrative status	0.344
6. Community size (population size)	0.363
7. Working hours pattern of the individual (shifts)	0.395
8. Individual's skills and place in organizational hierarchy	0.412
9. Modernity of the household	0.459
10. Individual's sex	0.495
11. Ownership of the family's dwelling (individual himself or local authority)	0.501

The obtained data indicate the highest informative power with relation to leisure types of the first four factors among which the principal one is the socioeconomic level of rural social environment. It seems, however, that the recorded magnitude of association between urbanization degree of residential location and free time utilization is somewhat overrated, because the more urbanized the environment, the more favourable is sociodemographic composition of population.

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1 To evaluate the association of these attributes with the fixed one the distance between the partitions of these attributes was used. The author of the application of space of partitions in the analysis of qualitative data was L.B. Chorny, a member of the Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering. The computer program has been made by P.N.Rostovtsev. The lesser the coefficient, the higher is association between these attributes.

5. Conclusions

The discerned types of leisure are qualitatively different stages in the development and perfection of free time activities. The first of them can be designated on the whole as little urbanized. Its characteristic feature is low degree in the spread of urban free time patterns. Even the most mass and accessible of these behaviours which is equally popular (according to statistics) in both urban and rural areas, i.e. cinema, has penetrated into the leisure of only half this group. The rest of urban patterns of leisure behaviour (television watching, reading etc.) have been assimilated to a far lesser degree or not assimilated at all.

Mid-developed or mid-urbanized leisure is marked, on the one hand, by mass nature of urban behaviour patterns diffusion and, on the other, by noneven nature and incompleteness in their diffusion. Most quickly cinema and television are diffused. Their diffusion is constrained mainly by rates of the spread of cinema and television in rural areas. Reading is spread into leisure of these residents more slowly. To stand up to urbanites, not less than 30-40% of rural dwellers must acquire habits in reading fiction books, newspapers and magazines.

The developed leisure can be identified with urbanized leisure since in its structure practically all activities of urbanites are available. It differs from urban leisure, however, apart from lesser time expenditures, by lower spread of certain activities (theatre-going, TV watching, combining gainful and educational activities and the like) caused by objective reasons.

The results of this study reflect, thus, two characteristic traits of cultural development of the contemporary Siberian countryside. First, they show large scales in the spread among rural population of modern forms of participation in cultural life. In these terms the Siberian countryside has drastically changed not only against the countryside of the

period of socialization of farming, but also against what it was two decades ago. The detected tendencies of rural leisure differentiation associated with educational level of population, socioeconomic level of communities etc. indicate that larger scales and deep cultural transformations in the countryside will occur in the future even at the more rapid rates. At present, however, the rural side is culturally still lagging behind city. Among rural manual workers the percentage of persons with under-developed leisure is three times as high as in urban. It should be remembered, however, that under-developed leisure is typical mainly of rural residents of retired and pre-retired age. According to this, only through mere shift of age groups an essential decline in rural-urban educational gap will take place, due to which the effect of one of the principal factors of rural cultural lagging behind city will be considerably decreased.

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